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Political Jawara of Local Moslem Elits Among Banten Oligarchy In Indonesia After The New Order Era

Fahmi Irfani

Ibnu Kholdun University, Bogor

fahmiirfani@fai.uika-bogor.ac.id

Imam Nafiudin

Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung

nafiudin.imam@gmail.com

Wan Jamaluddin

Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung

wanjamaludin@radenintan.ac.id

Abstract: *This paper focuses on the dynamic portrait of politics among moslem elits and Jawara in Indonesia, especially in the western tip of Java Island (Banten Province). Using a critical analysis in its document research, this study enriched by socio-political methods and socio-anthropological approaches. The study issued that the collapsed of the New Order (Orde Baru) regime and the start of a decentralized system of regional autonomy caused the increasing of local moslem elites commonly called Jawara as an informal leader in Banten due to the malfunctions of the state itself. It was clearly enough can be seen from the political and economic system in Banten controlled by the elites moslem local (Jawara) showing the portrait of local oligarchy in Banten; in which the institutional government leads only by the elites moslem local and certain family clan. All those things cause the economic policies and government affairs taken over by the elites (Jawara). The political constellation in Banten become more interesting when the moslem elites local itself are still giving a huge influence in determining the political orientation for Banten society.*

Abstrak: *Makalah ini fokus pada potret politik yang dinamis di kalangan tokoh Muslim dan Jawara di Indonesia, khususnya di ujung barat Pulau Jawa (Provinsi Banten). Dengan menggunakan*

analisis kritis dalam riset dokumennya, penelitian ini diperkaya oleh metode sosio-politik dan pendekatan sosio-antropologis. Studi ini menyatakan bahwa runtuhnya rezim Orde Baru dan dimulainya sistem otonomi daerah yang terdesentralisasi menyebabkan meningkatnya elit muslim lokal yang biasa disebut Jawara sebagai pemimpin informal di Banten karena malfungsi negara itu sendiri. Cukup jelas dapat dilihat dari sistem politik dan ekonomi di Banten yang dikendalikan oleh elit muslim lokal (Jawara) yang menampilkan potret oligarki lokal di Banten; di mana pemerintahan institusional hanya dipimpin oleh elit muslim lokal dan klan keluarga tertentu. Semua hal tersebut menyebabkan kebijakan ekonomi dan urusan pemerintahan diambil alih oleh para elit (Jawara). Konstelasi politik di Banten menjadi lebih menarik ketika kaum elit muslim lokal sendiri masih memberikan pengaruh besar dalam menentukan orientasi politik bagi masyarakat Banten.

Keywords: Politic, Jawara, Moslem Elit, Banten, Indonesia

A. Introduction

The political process in the era of reformation does not only create its politics turn to be plural but also competitive. That thing can be seen from the changing in the recruitment system of officials from both president and head of the region, it changed from the system of indirect to direct election. As a consequence of the application of decentralization and regional autonomy policy, in the last ten years there were ongoing shift in the political pendulum from the centralized politics to the more local politics. The political current system used to be centralized in Jakarta, but after the application of decentralize system, the political spaces spread and extended to local current, it started from villages to provincial levels. In the new order regim; the policies was highly determined in Jakarta, while in the nowadays all of the politicians in local level have the bigger opportunities in doing and maneuvering their political activities. Through those polecies, decentralization gives different colors in the process of democratization in Indonesia.

One of the main reason that regional autonomy used as a representative of decentralized system is to improve the prosperity of local citizens. Even thou there were changing in the form of institutions and democratic procedures, according to Siti Zuhroh, the local politicians have rules as the local authorities in which the purpose was to put their families and clans in the strategic positions to make sure

that the allocation of local resources are under the control of the local strongman.¹ In that situations, there were the small kings represent each area that seems to have unlimited power that strengthen the circles of their power and ownership of local resources. This phenomenon is known as a portrait of local oligarchies that occurred in Indonesia. That was one portrait of local oligarchies which witnessed in one of the country's provinces, including the province of Banten.

B. *Jawara* as a Local Moslem Elite and Informal Leader

Banten is one of the Province in Indonesia which has the unique tradition related to its local culture. The cultures of Banten are close to the value of Islamic cultures. One of the community that comes up as the result of Banten's product are *Jawara Banten*; the phenomenal figures around local society that considered as the elites who break social boundaries.² As an elite, the roles of *Jawara* considered significant in improving the life of Banten society.

Jawara in Banten's culture and social life can be considered as the symbol of islamicate local culture. As the community that came up from the tradition (local), *Jawara* represents different cultures from different areas in Indonesia. *Jawara* is a subculture of local society who has its own rules in local society. The roles of *Jawara* itself can be seen in the era of Dutch's colonization, in which *kiyai* and *Jawara* in the decade of 1800-1888 had a very significant roles in the rebellion toward colonialists.

The improvement of *Jawara* itself had a changing from time to time, in the early era, *Jawara* were being respected as a community who help the society, but then they had a negative image as "*jalma wani rampog*" (people who dare to rob). And that negative image of *Jawara* still believed up to 20th Century because of some reasons; *Jawara* got the level of social criminals in 19th Century, in which at that time Dutch as a colonialist were being suffered by *Jawara* because they robbed the leader of regional officials and created rebellion in some areas. In the era of Dutch's colonization *Jawara* considered as

¹ See S. Zuhroh, "Dinamika Politik Lokal Era Transisi" (Workshop Seminar Evaluasi Kebijakan Otonomi Daerah, Jakarta: Pusat Studi Islam dan Kenegaraan, 2011).

² S. Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1984), p.83.

local criminal because their act were harmed the government and beneficial for poor society especially farmers, because they gave all of the money from their robbery to the farmers. That is why, according to Antony Blok,³ farmers believed those local criminals as their heros.

The roles of politicians cannot be separated from the groups of *Jawara* due to up till now the groups of *Jawara* are still influential in determining the political orientation in Banten. There were shifting and significant social mobility around the group of *Jawara*. The traditional roles of *Jawara* were as *jaro*, martial art (*silat*) teachers and groups of security. But now there are shifting of values in *Jawara* itself. Nowadays they considered as the elites because some of them are jumped into bussiness world, some learn about Islamic religion and become *Kiayi*, some others become politicians. One of the interesting thing in Banten society is the role of *Jawara* as the security forces. If in different areas in Indonesia, police and army have a significant roles in secure particular events such as party, special events, local elections, etc. but those things will not happened in Banten. *Jawara* will take control all of the security activities, such as what happened in the council of governor election. People in Banten believes *Jawara* could be compare to any other security guards.

New Order regime was the era of reconstructions of Banteneese *Jawara's* roles. In this era, *Jawara* were being embraced by the authorities. It was characterized by the inclusion of some groups of *Jawara* into the organization named *Satuan Karya (Satkar) Ulama* in 1970, in which that organization become a political mechine of Golkar as a rulling party. Embracing *Jawara* into the organization might have political purposes to make the *Jawara* having more signifikan roles in Banten, especially in supporting the ballot for Golkar and implementing local development in the new order government. Political accommodation and cooptation performed by the New Order towards the entity of *Jawara* brought the group to a higher level and experienced vertical mobility very fast.⁴

³ Antony Blok, "The Peasant and The Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered," *Journal of Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14, no. 4 (1972): p.494.

⁴ F. Irfani, *Jawara Banten: Sebuah Kajian Sosial, Politik dan Budaya* (Jakarta: YPM Press, 2011), p.114-115.

Authority itself is the possibility of someone to actualize his own desires in the existing social relationship, including in using power.⁵ In the new order regim, the roles of Jawara were successfully placed as groups that depends on the government and its political mechine, but in other aspects this group were also given the strategic economic roles, that is why their roles turned to be an important economic power and as a patron for the local entrepreneur. The groups of Jawara who have the roles in economic usually called as *Jawara Pasar* whom leads by H. Chasan Sohib. He is the figure of *Jawara Banten* that got the most respect from others and also the leader of PPPSBBI.H. Chasan Sohib does not only empowered economical aspects but also political and government. This thing can be seen by the winning of Atut Chosiah as the governor of Banten on the election in 2006 and 2011. Atut Chosiah herself is H. Chasan Shohib's daughter, and lately Andika Hazyrumi (Atut's son) was elected as a member of parliement in 2014. They are well known as the dynasty of *Jawara* Chasan Shohib. It was clearly seen that there were political bargaining of *Jawara Pasar* in Banten.

The roles of Jawara in Banten are getting more important especially when Banten became independent Province. The roles of Jawara does not only dominate the cultural and economical aspects but also the aspects of local politics.

C. New Order Regime and the Shifting Roles of Local *Jawara*

Political domination of one area cannot be separated on how a person or particular community accommodate the local entities of its area. It is more than just a recruitment, but how a particular authorities are able to create the local entities in its area to be their political machine. In political point of view, if the authorities recruited and utilize the entity of their local community, that can be considered as an ordinary thing. Furthermore, according to Liddle,⁶ local community that being recruited by the new order regime will be able to build a relationship with the central government, and the power of new order regime will shaped the prism in which Soeharto were on the top of the prism itself. It seemed that the theory were also implemanted by the

⁵ Roderick Martin, *Sosiologi Kekuasaan* (Jakarta: Grafindo, 1993), p.70-71.

⁶ R. William Liddle, *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics* (Sidney Allen and Urwin: Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1996), p.18-20.

new order regime to some areas, in which the purpose was to control their authorities. The development of economical aspects cannot run smoothly without the safety in the region level nor in central. The strategy run by the new order regime in utilizing the entity of local communities has proven successful. It is characterized by the domination of the New Order for approximately 32 years.⁷

The development of social culture and politic in Banten cannot be separated from the roles of central government in Jakarta. In the era or new order regime, Banten was one of the basis area for Golkar that used as its political machine. Furthermore, one of the political strategy run by the new order regime in getting their vote was approaches to social entities of the local culture in Banten. The approaches taken by the government were through the community leaders in Banten, such as *Kiai* and *Jawara*. This good relationship can be seen on how the new order regime embraced the *the Kiai* by visiting every *Pesantren* that located in Banten. Moreover, Turmudi said that the visitation were not only happened in Banten but also in some other areas.⁸

Banten that famous with its Islamic culture was choosen by the New Order regime as a way to support their voting in its region. As what has been discussed before, there were two entities whom become leaders in Banten. Both entities believes that *kiai* and *jawara* represent Banten society that famous with its islamic culture. Even more, the local society around the region used to call those two entities as the symbols of *wong* Banten.⁹

In its development, *Jawara* that used to be connotated as social criminal, now involved in the political and business world. As a result of their involvement, there were some *jawara* involved in some parties, whether as a member of that parties or as a staff, some even became a member of parliament in province, region, city level, some others even active as a member in central parliament. According to Lili Romli,¹⁰ in some numbers of political policies, the new order government reorganized and refunctionalized both in the politic level of

⁷ See D. Artonang, *Runtuhnya Rezim Dar Pada Soeharto: Rekaman Perjuangan Mahasiswa Indonesia 1998* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999).

⁸ E. Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kiyai dan Kekuasaan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), p.34.

⁹ "Harian Banten," *Harian Banten*, 2003.

¹⁰ L. Romli, "Jawara dan Penguasa Politik Lokal di Banten (2001-2006)" (FISIP Universitas Indonesia, 2007), p.193.

infrastructures and suprastructure. That policies were also implemented in Banten, one of the reason the government implemented that policies in Banten was to accommodate the entities of *Jawara* around that region.

The political policies taken by the new order government towards their domain area was to create political stability as a foundation of the implementation in economic development. For new order regime, political stability and security are the prerequisites of the implementation of development whether in region or in central level.

In this regime, *jawara* were being recruited as the underbow of new order regime. The image and credibility of *jawara* as the social criminal around society was one of the reason why *jawara* being recruited by this regime. The relationship beound between the new order regime and *jawara* was a win-win relationship for both sides.

Groups of *jawara* have the role as an agent for the government of new order regime. According to Henk, groups of *jawara being* used as a political machine and new order regime's underbow to support the voting of particular party in Banten. But commonly, the use of *jawara* themselves were not only in Banten area but also to secure the stability in some other areas in Indonesia.¹¹ There were some significant changing in economic and political aspects around Banten after the utilizing of *jawara*. The same changing also found in the central government, the presence of *jawara* were being the new order regime's fortunate because the stability of Golkar's voting in the election were being secured by the presence of *jawara*.

D. *Jawara* Banten in the Era of Reformation

The transition of political constellation between new order regime and the era or reformation did not give any negative impact towards the existance and domination of *jawara*, especially their domination in economic and local politic aspects. On the contrary, in the era of reformation, the relationship bounded between *jawara* and local government were very good.

¹¹ H.S. Nordholt dan G.V. Klinken, *Politik Lokal di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007), p.173-174.

The relationship between *jawara* and the new order regime caused *jawara* to get some facilities to build their economic power. The collapse of new order regime does not mean the end of *jawara*'s domination in Banten, on the contrary, this community even more dominate that area. In political aspect, the involvement of *jawara* in political and business level even more powerful. The involvement of *jawara* in political aspects can be seen by the amount of *jawara* in some political parties.

1. The Dominance of Political Aspect

The political constellation happened in Indonesia in 1997 that marked by the fall of new regime order and followed by the appearance of reformation era placed *jawara Banten* into the local government, especially groups of H. Chasan in which it was not different from the former era. The constellation politics in Indonesia did not give any impact to the situations and conditions in Banten, especially to groups of *jawara*. The collapse of new regime order and the birth of reformation era did not scuttle groups of *Jawara* in dominating politics in Banten. The relationship bound between *Jawara Banten* and regional and central government did not give any interference. Moreover, in that transition era from the new regime into the reformation era, *Jawara* successfully took the advantage of that situation by forming Banten as an independent province. Groups of *Jawara* had an important roles in forming Banten as a province. Apart from *Jawara*'s roles in forming Banten as an independent province, they have their own motives behind that action, one of the motives is economic factor, where the sources of business run by *Jawara* sourced from the local government. Therefore, with the establishment of Banten as an independence province, the group of *Jawara* had a wide opportunity to control the economic and political aspect in Banten.

The new order regime is the period of endeavoring *Jawara*, but after the collapsed of that regime and replaced by the era of reformation *Jawara* were on the top of their golden period. Those things happened because groups of *Jawara* had successfully dominated almost all of the life aspects of Banten society, moreover when *Jawara* brought Ratu Atut Chosiah became the Governor of Banten on regional election in 2006. Started in the new regime era, groups of *jawara* dominated economic and political aspect in Banten and after the collapsed of that era, they expanded their influence and positions. As

has been discussed before that the expansion of *Jawara's* domination cannot be separated from the new regime order. In this era, *jawara* have good relationship with the steak holders, that good relationship cannot also be separated from the influence of new order regime, in which they played a central roles in controlling *Jawara* backwards.¹²

During the reformation era, groups of *jawara* are more aggressively in their attempt to dominate their network within the government bureaucracy. Moreover, since Banten separated itself from West Java and became independence Province in 1999. Groups of *jawara* expanded their influence and roles in the local society. This thing can be seen when groups of *jawara* successfully carried up Ratu Atut Chosiah as Deputy of Banten in the period 2002-2006. And also supported her to be Governor of Banten in 2006-2011 and in 2011-2013 as a Governor for the second time, although on its process Atut Chosiah were arrested by KPK (Commission Eradication Comission) in 2013.

Even thou the era of reformation known as the democratic era where people can speak up their rights and mind, but this thing does not happen in Banten, where the spaces for democratic rights have been closed by the domination of *jawara* in the government area. Intervension and intimidation from the groups of *jawara* had take control the local government, even though in the construction of local culture *Jawara* have a role as an informal leader in Banten society, but the problem came when those informal leaders took control of the formal aspects of some policies. The issues of democratic became the matter of discourse, indeed if we rely on the democratic laws, the policies of democratic itself have been applied in Banten since then, but in the practice it was far from the values of democratic itself. This can be seen from a family Dynasty in controlling the government of Banten.¹³

If in the new order regime *jawara* concentrate only on Golkar, now they expanded their influence to some other parties. It can be conclude that the expansion areas of *jawara* are getting wider not only in the cultural domain but also in the structural domain. If previously

¹² Irfani, *Jawara Banten: Sebuah Kajian Sosial, Politik dan Budaya*, p.139-140.

¹³ A. Rahman Alamsyah, *Islam, Jawara dan Demokrasi, Geliat Politik Banten Pasca Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 2010), p.86.

the roles of *jawara* limited only in the villages domain, but now their territory are expanded into the level of region, city and even province. If previously the roles of *jawara* were as the security guard, but nowadays the roles of *jawara* expanded into the economic and political aspects in Banten.

Ironically the pace of democracy that started with forming Banten as an independent province should open up the greater democracy itself in Banten, but on the contrary it gave the bigger opportunities for the groups of *jawara* to control that region. The roles and influence of *jawara* in Banten are even more powerful and dominate all aspects of life in Banten society. In a tricky way, groups of *Jawara* got more profit on both political and economic aspects from the changing of governance systems in the era of reformation.

As well as has been discussed before, in the process of politics in Banten, especially in the aspects of political institutions and governance bureaucracy, those two aspects cannot be separated from the two entities of an informal leaders (*kiayi* and *jawara*) in Banten. Islamic cultures in Banten made those two informal leaders played an important roles in political process in Banten. Furthermore, the competitions in that informal aspects are also expanded into the formal one. No wonders if there are candidates who wanted to join in the competition of local and legislative election they should be able to embrace those two entities to support them on the election.

The development of Banten as an independent province create the more powerful competition in political areas for people who wanted to take the advantages of that situations. Even a ceremonial moment such as the inauguration of legislators in Banten Province guarded by *Jawara*. The amount of security guarded by *jawara* represent the important roles of *jawara* in securing the inauguration of parliament. Another roles that can be seen was in the involvement of *jawara* in creating the organization of entrepreneur in Banten. The establishment of an organization such as *Kamar Dagang Indonesia (KADIN)* and *Asosiasi Aspal Beton* facilitated *Jawara* in obtaining construction projects tendered by the government.

The collapsed of new order regime and appeared the era of reformation have been predicted by *Jawara*, it can be seen from the involvement of *jawara* in some other parties besides Golkar. Some of them are joined and involved in PDIP while some others joined another

new parties. Political process in Banten recorded that *Jawara* appear as the leader of political parties in region, city and province level.

In the reformation era, there are some candidates of *jawara* controlled and have a position in some parties, especially Golkar, and then PDIP, PKB, PPP, PAN and some other small parties. Not only as a member but groups of *Jawara* also get a positions as the leader of some parties. Such as H. Maman Rizal as a chairman of Golkar II Serang region, Tb. Aat Syafaat as a charman of Golkar II region Cilegon, H. Aceng Iskak as a chairman of PDIP region Pandeglang, Hasan Cobra as a chairman of Persatuan Daerah Party, Ratu Atut Chosiah (putri dari Tokoh *Jawara*) vice of treasurer of Golkar, and there are some other *jawara* hold an important positions in some political parties.

Besides as a member and staffs of some parties, some of *jawara* also became a member of legislatif in region and province level. Some of *jawara* who became the member of legislatif are Maman Rizal as a chairman of Golkar became legislator of Serang, Jayeng Rana Anggita as a legislator of Banten Province, Hasan Maksudi as a chairman of Serang Legislatif, Jazuli as a member of legislatif Banten province, H. Jajat Mujahidin member of legislatif in Pandeglang¹⁴ etc. Some of those *Jawara* have a very powerful influence and domination in Banten, those type of *jawara* commonly called as *Gubernur Jenderal*.

One of the influence played by this figure is the ability to control some political parties and legislatif in Banten. That figure can be characterize as *Godfather* in some groups of Mafia in Italy. Similar with community of *jawara* where the family relationship used as a connector in the organization of *Jawara*, the same thing also happened in the organization of Mafia, in which this organization developed through family relationship where *Godfather* has a highest position in the organization. And the figure of *Godfather* himself is a central figure which held by the eldest, and so then with *Jawara*.¹⁵ To be able to control political situation in Banten, usually the *Gubernur Jenderal* positioned his right hand (*Jawara*) into some political parties in Banten.

¹⁴ Interview, 2010.

¹⁵ Letizia Paoli, *Mafia Brotherhoods: Organized Crime, Italian Style* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.47-48.

The development of political process in Banten was triggered by economic issues, this thing was not only happened in Banten but also in some different areas in Indonesia. The tendency over the control of the economy, usually involves the processes of local politics in a local area. Abdul Hamid, put local *Jawara* as local bosses to secure a business run by some *Jawara*. That thing related to the tender projects obtained from the government. Therefore, no wonder if there were some conspiracy between the government in province level and *Jawara* Banten. In the process of securing a business run by *Jawara*, competition in regional election level is an absolute winning.

When looking at Banten province, the authorities of both governor and regional leaders of Banten dominated by a single clan of *Jawara*. The economic motives behind the regional election in Banten encourage some groups of *Jawara* to win the election. That thing can be seen by the election of Atut Chosiah as the vice of Governor in 2001 – 2006 period, and as Governor of Banten in 2011-2016 period.

The political competition in regional election in 2011-2016, was as exciting as the previous regional elections. In this regional elections, political constellation in Banten are getting more complex by the presence of three candidates to be the Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut-Rano Karno supported by Golkar and PDI-P parties, Jazuli Juwaeni-Makmun Muzzaki supported by PKS and Wahidin Halim-Irna Narulita supported by Democratic party. Nevertheless, as has been predicted that the incumbent candidate Ratu-Rano who will win the election. The competition of regional election in 2011-2016 were as similar as the previous regional election in which Ratu-Rano gained a winning of the election. Moreover, South Tangerang as a new Kabupaten or regent in one of Banten areas cannot be separated from the domination of Ratu Atut's family using the regional election process of South Tangerang that winning by Airin Rachmi, Tb Haerul Zaman Walikota Serang, and Ratu Tatu Chasanah a Regent of Serang had completed the political oligarchy structures in the province of Banten.

Based on the domination above, influence and roles of *Jawara* towards politics and determination in Banten, then comes some believes around people of Banten that *Jawara* whom actually held the highest authority in Banten instead of central government. No wonder if Banten society called the figures of *Jawara* as *Gubernur Jendral*. That term was actually a metaphorical satire from Banten society, those

term came from colonization era and used for colonialists who have the highest position in that area. In other words, the authorities in Banten was not held by Governor instead but it held by the figures of *Jawara* themselves.

In connection with this situation, if we try to compare this situation with the groups of Mafia in Italy or America, the groups of *Jawara* in Banten have the more powerful authorities compare to Mafia. If we see from the authorities aspects between the local government and Mafia, usually the local government have a more powerful or balanced with Mafia. Unfortunately, when we look back into the cases in Banten, *Jawara* have the much more powerful authorities compare to local government. Letizia Poli placed the structures of Mafioso – in Italy, U.S Amerika, and in any other European Countries – have the balance authorities with the government, some are even under the government authorities. The organization of mafia itself was built in 19th century before the world war I in 1838. It is a criminal organization first appeared in Sisilia island, the network of this organization developed from family relationship, no wonder if this organiization are able to expand their network not only in Itay but up to U.S of America, Russia, and any other European Countries. Some of the influences and intervention of *Jawara* in the administration of Banten province can be seen from some aspects, such as in deciding the steak holders and their staffs. Furthermore, another intervension can be seen from the economic policies made by them.

Through their intervension, the groups of *Jawara* are able to control all of the bureaucracy and policies as they wish. The purpose of the intervention in the aspect of local governmen in Banten is to control all the projects run by groups of *Jawara*. By supporting Rt. Atut Chosiah as the Governor of Banten and placed their staffs in bureaucracy lines, *Jawara*'s own motives in economic aspects will run smoothly without any obstacles.

2. The Domination of Economic Aspect

In the reformation era the involvement of Jawara in economic or business aspect in Banten can be seen from the chronology of new order regime. The involvement of Jawara themselves into business aspects can be understood from the motto of Jawara itself: “Bela Diri, Bela Bangsa, and Bela Negara”. One of the implications of “Bela Diri”

itself is by the ability to support themselves and their family. To be able to support themselves and their family is through the business world.

In relation to that believes, one of the sources said:

“Hal pertama yang harus dilakukan oleh para pendekar adalah pertama kali, harus membela diri yang dimaksud dengan Bela Diri dalam motto kami, adalah menghidupi diri sendiri dahulu, bagaimana bisa Bela Negara, Bela Bangsa, kalau urusan perut saja masih kosong, oleh karena itu pertama kali kita harus mendahulukan urusan ekonomi kita dahulu, baru selanjutnya dapat membela negara dan bangsa”.

Information above can represent pragmatism thought of Jawa to control and dominate economic aspects in Banten. No wonder if the purpose of good relationship bound between Jawa and Banten government is to gain the investment projects in that province. Even more, in this reformation era some groups of Jawa are successfully placed their agents into Banten's local government. When the politic aspect and formal government has been controlled by Jawa so then the economic motives behind some groups of Jawa are guaranteed. In this reformation era, with Atut Chosiyah (daughter of one of the most powerful Jawa in Banten) as Governor of Banten, the business of Jawa experienced a very rapid development. That type of political attitudes lead to political pragmatic pattern, the characteristics of that type is the willingness to integrate with the authorities, they even more willing to be part of that authorities.

Jawa whom involved in the sector of business generally involved in contracting aspects as a contractor for some roads, market, school building, and irrigation facilities in Banten. The domination of Jawa in controlling economic aspects during reformation era, are still relying on H. Chasan as the most powerful figure of Jawa himself. Started from the new regime order, the groups of Jawa had experienced a huge movement in business world. Different from Mafia in Italy, business run by Jawa is not an illegal business such as drug dealer, human trafficking, etc.¹⁶ As has been mentioned before, the business runs by Jawa is in economic and tourism sectors.

¹⁶ Paoli, p.4-5.

The problem is, jawara who involved in that sectors tend to do the enforcement and intimidation towards local government in obtaining the projects. Local government's development programs will not run effectively if they included Jawara because the control of Jawara themselves tend to exceed the power of local government. Moreover, the involvement of jawara was not only in the technical aspects but also in deciding government policies. The involvement of jawara themselves usually has a higher priority in the sector of allocation projects. The request from Jawara are hard or resist, if the request are being rejected then the consequences are a safety threat and intimidation caused by Jawara. This groups of Jawara does not only ask to manage the projects contracted to private institutions but also requested that some projects must be allocated in certain areas.

For the local government a decision to allocate some projects based on jawara's desire is a pragmatic choice and contradict with modern management. the intervention and leadership pattern ruled by Jawara should be accepted as part of transition process in the governance. Even though in its process there were pressures and cohesive style, in which those parts have been blended and become part of consequences of the transition process. Businesses run by Jawara themselves are close to violence, in order to obtain governor's project. Golok is a powerful weapon around jawara and an effective way to win the project.

The government in Banten during this reformation era can be regarded as a tool to achieve the goals around jawara. Rt. Atut Chosiyah herself is an agent of Jawara who successfully became Governor of Banten on the election in 2006. The existence of informal power that control the governor, in this case are jawara themselves have a very powerful influence in controlling the provincial government, especially in economic aspects. The groups of Jawara did not only control almost all of the aspects of the local government project but also force the provincial government to accommodate their personal needs.

Every projects held by the governor of Banten, often done by companies owned by H. Chasan as the figure of Jawara. Started from the development building projects as Banten provincial administration center in Pallima, Ministry of Religious Affairs' building, police station, the construction of multipurpose building that diverted into

parliament building, all of that projects were done by PT. Sinar Ciomas Putra, a company awened by H. Chassan. Moreover, some other projects done by H. Chassan are the purchases of second-hand vessels, the purchase of medicines for poor families which turned into cars and warehouses. Some other famous cases are budget transferring to construct the roads in one of Banten's area, those budget diverted to overcome the purchase of landing problem in Carita, and the construction of Government center. The practices of business and misappropriation funds did by groups of Jawara in controlling the budget did not get any concrete actions by the provincial government. Whereas, it can be seen cleary from the budgets that supposed be used for roads constructions in Banten and its surrounding areas, in fact it was allocated to acquire land in Carita.¹⁷ Related to that matter, some sources said that Regional Police Institution, Highest Court, and Regional Court are some institutions that have been controlled by *Jawara*, and those thing made the elites are immune from the law.¹⁸

In dominating economic aspects in Banten, *Jawara* totally controlled all of the infrastructure projects in Banten. The most important problem is that while doing that project, they gave the bad result. Moreover, they gave the project that supposed to be done by them into another companies to get them done. Those things can be considered as corruption and misappropriation.

D. Conclusion

Political constellation that occurred in Indonesia in 1997 was marked by the end of the New Order regime and followed by an era of reformation. The situation caused position of *Jawara Banten* especially the group of H. Chasan were not different from the previous period. This political constellation did not give any impact toward the situations and condition of *Jawara Banten*. The collapsed of new regime order and the rise of reformation era, it does not mean tripped Jawara group in dominating politics in Banten. The relationship bound between *Jawara Banten* and local or central government did not get any interference. The changing from new regime order into reformation era did ot give any negative impact towards the existance

¹⁷ *Koran Tempo*, 7 Juli 2003.

¹⁸ Interview.

and domination of *Jawara*, especially their domination in economic and local politic aspects. Moreover, the relationship bound between *Jawara* and local government in reformation era are better than before.

With Rt. Atut as a Governor of Banten, indicated that political aspects has been under the control of *Jawara*. Moreover, the winning gined by Airin Rachmi as the vice Bupati that soon followed as Bupati has completed the structure of political oligarchy in Banten. The current portrait of local political oligarchy in Banten is one of the way through democratic, in which the result is a decentralized system with its regional autonomy. Local politicians finally able to put their family in a strategic position to ensure that the allocation of regional resources are under the control and domination of local people (*local strongmen*). This fenomena was known as the portrait of *local oligarcy* that happened in Indonesia. [.]

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